

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

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INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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R 281610Z OCT 76

FM AMEMBASSY LOME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1308

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY BAMAKO

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

C O N F I D E N T I A L L O M E 2440

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, TO

SUBJECT: PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS: EYADEMA EXPRESSES CONTINUING  
CONCERN OVER SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA AND CRITICIZES U.S.  
POLICY IN ANGOLA CRISIS

1. I WAS CALLED YESTERDAY BY THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY AND  
ASKED TO PRESENT MY LETTERS OF CREDENCE TODAY AT 0700. PRESIDENT  
EYADEMA RECEIVED ME EXPANSIVELY AND WITH DIRECTNESS,  
TYPICAL OF A MAN WITH MILITARY BACKGROUND, LAUNCHED INTO A  
VIGOROUS, ALBEIT GOOD HUMORED, ASSAULT ON AMERICAN POLICY DURING  
THE ANGOLA CRISIS.

2. CLAIMING REPEATEDLY THAT HE HAD BEEN DISAPPOINTED OVER THE  
LACK OF AMERICAN RESOLVE TO CONFRONT THIS EXPANSION BY THE SOVIETS  
AND THEIR CUBAN SURROGATES INTO AFRICA, EYADEMA SAID HE  
SIMPLY COULD NOT UNDERSTAND HOW THE UNITED STATES, WHOSE  
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POWER FAR EXCEEDED THAT OF THE SOVIETS, COULD HAVE ALLOWED

THE RUSSIANS SO RADICALLY TO EXPAND THEIR ZONE OF INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. ALL THE U.S. HAD TO DO WAS SAY "STOP" AND SOVIETS WOULD HAVE BACKED DOWN. I EXPLAINED SOME OF THE CONDITIONS AND REALITIES OF AMERICAN DOMESTIC POLITICAL LIFE WHICH HAD OBTAINED AT THE TIME OF THE ANGOLA CRISIS, PARTICULARLY THE STRONG ASSERTION OF CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THE ANGOLA QUESTION AND THE LIMITATIONS THIS HAD IMPOSED ON EXECUTIVE BRANCH FREEDOM OF ACTION. I TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT THE ANGOLA EXPERIENCE HAD HAD, HOWEVER, A GALVANIZING EFFECT ON AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA. IN THIS CONNECTION I REFERRED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS SOUTHERN AFRICA IN SUPPORT OF MAJORITY RULE, MINORITY RIGHTS, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND THE BASIC AMERICAN CONCEPT OF HELPING AFRICANS TO RESOLVE AFRICAN PROBLEMS WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERVENTION AND AVOIDING GREAT POWER RIVALRIES.

3. I EXPRESSED THE SATISFACTION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FOR THE SUPPORT PROVIDED BY THE TOGOLESE GOVERNMENT TO THE EFFORTS OF THE FRONTLINE GOVERNMENTS ASSISTED BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA. EYADEMA COMMENTED FAVORABLY ON WHAT HE CALLED THE ANGLO-AMERICAN EFFORT. WHILE SUPPORTING THE HOPE THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WOULD REPRESENT AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD MAJORITY RULE, HE COMMENTED RATHER DRYLY THAT THE IAN SMITH REGIME HAD BEEN IN POWER FOR ELEVEN YEARS AND THE PRESENT ANGLO-AMERICAN EFFORT COULD, DOUBTLESS, HAVE TAKEN PLACE WELL BEFORE NOW.

4. THEREUPON EYADEMA RETURNED TO HIS PREOCCUPATION WITH THE RUSSIANS AND THEIR PLANS TO CREATE AND CONSOLIDATE ZONES OF INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. HE REFERRED TO HIS REQUEST TO THE RESIDENT WESTERN AMBASSADORS FOR SUPPORT TO OFFSET THE SOVIETS DURING THE ANGOLA CRISIS, AND REMARKED THAT THE WEST HAD DONE NOTHING. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA WAS PERHAPS BECOMING MORE SOPHISTICATED, BUT HE SAID THE FACT IS THAT THE RUSSIANS AND THE CUBANS ARE ENTRENCHED IN ANGOLA ACROSS THE BORDER FROM MOBUTU IN ZAIRE. HE SAID THAT THERE ARE NO MYSTERIES ABOUT WHAT THE RUSSIANS ARE TRYING TO DO, WITNESS THEIR INITIAL ATTEMPTS TO TIE

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UP THE EGYPTIAN COTTON CROP AND THE MILLIONS OF FRANCS WORTH OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT THEY ARE POURING INTO MALI. HE SAID THE RUSSIANS' INTENT IS TO EXPAND THEIR IDEOLOGY AND THEIR POLITICAL POWER. REFERRING BACK TO MY ASSERTION ABOUT EXECUTIVE BRANCH-LEGISLATIVE BRANCH DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ABOUT U.S. POLICY DURING THE ANGOLA CRISIS, HE DEMONSTRATED HIS OWN AUTHORIZATION BIAS BY SAYING LEGISLATIVE INVOLVEMENT IN DECISION MAKING IS ALL VERY WELL AND

GOOD AND THE CHIEF OF STATE SHOULD SEARCH OUT VARYING OPINIONS. BUT THE ROLE OF A CHIEF OF STATE, HE SAID, IS TO MAKE A DECISION AND THEN TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON IT. I EXPLAINED THAT THIS ANALYSIS OF DECISION MAKING DID NOT ADEQUATELY REFLECT THE FACTS OF LIFE IN AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE. AMIABLY, WE TACITLY AGREED TO DISAGREE ON THIS MATTER.

5. ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER MIVEDOR (FOREIGN MINISTER KODJO IS OUT OF THE COUNTRY) SPOKE UP AT THIS POINT AND SUGGESTED THAT ONE OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE U.S. IS THE LACK OF A POLICY TOWARD AFRICA. I SUGGESTED INSTEAD THAT AMERICAN POLICY WAS IN THE PROCESS OF EVOLUTION AND THAT OUR SOUTHERN AFRICA POLICY WAS A CONCRETE EXAMPLE OF THIS EVOLUTION. NEVERTHELESS, I NOTED THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SURELY DID NOT BELIEVE THAT IT HAD ALL OR EVEN MOST OF THE ANSWERS WITH RESPECT TO RESOLUTION OF MANY OF THE ANSWERS WITH RESPECT TO RESOLUTION OF MANY OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS IN AFRICA, PARTICULARLY THE PROBLEM OF KEEPING AFRICA FREE OF ZONES OF INFLUENCE AND GREAT POWER RIVALRY. AS A CONSEQUENCE, I TOLD THE PRESIDENT I LOOKED FORWARD TO OPPORTUNITIES TO DISCUSS EVENTS IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE WITH HIM AND THEREBY TO PROVIDE WASHINGTON WITH THE BENEFIT OF HIS YEARS OF EXPERIENCE. HE URGED ME TO BE IN CONTACT WITH HIM WHENEVER I WISHED.

6. COMMENT: EYADEMA'S CONCERN OVER THE RUSSIAN/CUBAN INFESTATION OF AFRICA AND ITS NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR AFRICAN UNITY AND AFRICAN AUTHENTICITY IS NOT NEW. HE SAID "WE ARE WHAT WE ARE, AND WE WANT TO STAY THAT WAY." WHILE SUPPORTIVE, IN A MEASURED WAY, OF PRESENT AMERICAN SOUTHERN AFRICA POLICY, EYADEMA SEEMS TO BELIEVE THAT U.S. POWER, WHICH HE EXAGGERATES, IS SUCH THAT WE CAN, CONFIDENTIAL

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IF WE REALLY DESIRE TO DO SO, BRING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND ALSO BAR THE EXPANSION OF SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. EYADEMA MAY HAVE DELIBERATELY MAGNIFIED HIS CONCERNS OVER THE SOVIETS FOR MY BENEFIT IN A FIRST MEETING, BUT I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT HIS UNEASINESS IS REAL AND SINCERELY FELT. PALMER

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